



THE FLY LEAF

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FRIENDS OF THE
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The Librarian regrets the necessity of informing the Friends that Professor Hardin Craig, Senior, will be unable to deliver the lecture scheduled for April 22. Professor Craig, who is at present in California, suffered a heart attack on April 11, and even with the most favorable recovery will be unable to travel for six weeks. The text of the lecture he was to have given on The Taming of the Shrew will appear in an early issue of the FLYLEAF.

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THE FLYLEAF

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FRIENDS OF SHAKESPEARE

The Friends of the Fondren Library will sponsor, at 8 P.M. on Wednesday, April 22, in the Lecture Lounge, a lecture by Professor Hardin Craig, Senior, noted Shakespeare scholar.

Professor Craig has chosen as his title "Love and Kindness in Disguise: the Taming of the Shrew." The lecture, therefore, will be a timely introduction to the production of The Taming of the Shrew, which will be given by the Rice Players in Hamman Hall on the four nights following.

On display will be a charcoal portrait of the late Professor Stockton Axson, the gift of Mary Perry (Mrs. Harry S.) Crawford of Galveston. Professor Axson, who was the friend and Princeton colleague of Professor Craig, will be remembered by many friends for his distinguished service and brilliant lectures at the Rice Institute.

All Friends and their guests are cordially invited to attend this lecture. Their attention is also directed to the many other outstanding lectures and events to be held at Rice during this season of the 400th anniversary of the birth of William Shakespeare.

On the afternoon of Sunday, April 19, will be held the Music Room Matinee, at which readings from Shakespeare with the original music, and other Elizabethan music, will be presented. There will be pieces for viol consort, lute and recorder--

madrigals, catches, popular songs, and lute songs. Mr. Roland Pomerat, organist and carillonneur, will demonstrate his new harpsichord.

In addition, the winners of the annual Undergraduate Personal Library Contest, a project sponsored by the Friends of the Fondren Library, will be announced, and the collections formed by Rice students will be on display. If a member of the Senior class takes any prize in this contest, his collection may be entered in the national contest.

Refreshments will be served, and the Matinee will begin at 4 P.M. in the Music and Fine Arts Room of the Fondren Library.

UNESCO AND EDUCATION

By special permission of the management the subject of this talk may be somewhat broader than the announced subject, "UNESCO and Education." I was asked to speak on UNESCO, but I believe that that organization can be understood best against the background of world affairs.

What kind of a world do we discover as we look about us? Just about four years ago I made some remarks out at the Shamrock Hotel on the basic problems before us. I said then that it seemed to me that we have always been rediscovering the world. Yet curiously enough until recently it has always been as outsiders, observing exotic sights for the most part as tourists. Except for a few--scholars, artists, diplomats, or businessmen--most of us have viewed the rest of the world pretty much as Mark Twain's innocents abroad viewed it in 1869, if with less wit. The conversation of two returning American couples about their shopping triumphs which I overheard last fall in the Paris airport reflected a view of Europe very much like that of Mark Twain's pilgrims, a Europe full of crumbling monuments and souvenirs to be purchased, of people at once quaint and given to sharp trading, often unsanitary and vaguely immoral.

Because of this ignorance of the world as it really is we have developed what I have heard my Princeton colleague Eric Goldman call The American View of History, a belief in the gradual, orderly progress of the world toward middle-class democracy. A characteristic of the American View of History is a belief in the quick, permanent solution: all of these disagreeable international problems are not really so complicated, and if we can just sit down and talk them over in a businesslike way all troubles will disappear. This attitude can be documented rather fully, I believe, from the Congressional

Record as well as from other less eloquent sources. A sentence from a 1940 oration of the late Senator Wherry will serve for the present: "With God's help, we will lift Shanghai up and up, ever up, until it is just like Kansas City."

Now my point is that the prevalence of this attitude, in spite of warnings from those who knew better, led us to rely on distance, on our ability to find the quick solution when necessary, and on the belief that we really need not become involved in these rather messy affairs of Europe and Asia. After World War I it came as something of a shock to find that our solutions were neither quick nor permanent, and the shift of power after World War II found us quite unprepared to assume the leadership that was thrust upon us.

To complicate matters further, the world which we now find ourselves compelled to do something about is a new world, so new that it has assumed its present characteristics under the eyes of most of us in this room, and we have not yet appraised all of its characteristics. The two factors that seem most obvious to me are, first, the polarization into two great blocs, led by the Soviet Union and the United States; and, second, the ferment of what are sometimes called the emergent nations.

I do not propose to say much about Russia, of which we are all certainly aware and which has been dragged in for some years now to justify anything that anyone wants to do, good or bad, from raising teachers' salaries to depriving individuals of their constitutional rights. But I might summarize the formulation of one distinguished political scientist I know. He feels that barring the explosion of some Berlin crisis or the pressing of the wrong button by some trigger-happy colonel, the relative balance in weapons should bring about a stalemate for the next thirty or forty years. We can certainly not expect a cold war to stay cold longer than that. Our only

hope of avoiding total catastrophe is somehow to ease the situation in the few years we have left if we are lucky. The only hope of easing the tension is through the minds of men, where wars begin. But more of that later.

Perhaps I should have said more four years ago about the Bomb. Its menace may be more visible now than it was then.

Last week in Princeton a wise man who has thought a lot about these problems delivered the first two of a series of lectures. (The third is being delivered tonight, and all of us would learn more there than here!) The speaker was David Lilienthal, a former Director of the TVA and the first Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Disagreeing with our current policies on how to avoid nuclear war and secure peace, he expressed a series of doubts about our overemphasis on disarmament which I shall not go into here, then expressed faith in man's ability to change. Man's hope, he said, lies in such forces of change as international trade and commerce, transportation and communication, economic development of the poorer countries, food, health, science and technology, and education.

"The achievement of a world without war cannot, in my view, be accomplished except by affirmatively building up in a thousand different ways life-giving ties of common interest, first with those nations where such ties commonly exist," he said, "and then little by little, case by case, between the Soviet Union and the free world.

"It would be well at the outset not to be too ambitious and not to encourage too grandiose schemes in order first to develop experience in working together, in areas such as the seven I have previously mentioned, and many others."

The second great fact of the world today, the

aspirations of the peoples of the underdeveloped areas, may turn out in the long view of history to have been more important than Soviet imperialism. All over the world the people of the old colonial territories and the old kept monarchies are moving toward and attaining independence and striving, I believe, for freedom. There are hints that they are no more ready to bow to communist imperialism than to any other form of domination from without.

Coupled with this world-wide surge of peoples who have had little part in what we think of as world history for a thousand years is the population bomb, as it has been dramatically called. With our new efficiency in reducing death rates while the birth rate remains constant or increases we are reaching a situation in which the population doubles in twenty-three years. This is now roughly the rate in Taiwan, in Ceylon, in Mexico, and in several South American countries. Spraying with insecticides and other relatively simple devices in Ceylon for seven consecutive years raised the expectancy of life at birth two years each year. That is, children born at the end of the seven year period could expect to live fourteen years longer than those born at the beginning. The effects are obvious and staggering. For example, in our field, although primary education is being increased in Mexico more rapidly than ever before, the percentage of illiteracy is also increasing.

The rise of these untold hundreds of millions may quite possibly be the significant fact of this half century. What must concern us (as librarians) most is the minds of these millions, just as it is the minds of the Russian people which are the crucial factor. Even if we wished to approach the problem in another way it seems clear now that these nations are going to make a choice of some sort between communism and democracy as a way of life. This is a choice that cannot be left to the street mobs of Baghdad and the (Belgian) Congo in their ignorance and their fanaticism. These minds must somehow be trained for freedom before they themselves give it away.

The significance of what is happening can be formulated in many ways, but I like the way Sir Charles Snow has put it, for he speaks with the accuracy and precision of a distinguished scientist and the clarity and eloquence of a perhaps more distinguished novelist. In the final section of his 1959 Rede Lecture at Cambridge University, called The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution, he pulls together the essential threads. As he sees it, the main issue of the scientific revolution and of our day is less the H-bomb or over-population than the fact that the people in the industrialized countries are getting richer and those in the non-industrialized countries are at best standing still. The gap between the rich and the poor is growing wider every day. Then Snow goes on to say:

This disparity between the rich and the poor has been noticed. It has been noticed, most acutely and not unnaturally, by the poor. Just because they have noticed it, it won't last for long. Whatever else in the world we know survives to the year 2000, that won't. Once the trick of getting rich is known, as it now is, the world can't survive half rich and half poor.

These changes will be effected within a single lifetime, without help and with appalling bloodshed, or with help and some hope of an orderly change. The question is by whom this profound economic and social change will be wrought. There are only two possibilities, the USA and the USSR, and the resources of either will be strained. But if we in the West are not the principal agent, our role in the world of the twenty-first century will be a minor one. The two obvious needs are capital and trained manpower, and there is never enough of either. The demand, the cry, for education in Asia and Africa is frightening.

There Sir Charles leaves the problem, still

speaking with precision as a scientist at the end of his lecture:

The danger is, we have been brought up to think as though we had all the time in the world. We have very little time. So little that I dare not guess at it.

I should like to go on from there to suggest one other consideration. This is the way the aid is to be given. We have recognized, as have the Russians, that aid must be given, or, to put it more accurately, we have recognized that we cannot afford not to be associated with this aid. But we are fumbling with techniques. We have sometimes confused aid with military assistance, which is quite another matter. We have tied strings to the package, have sometimes demanded a gratitude which the recipients felt but which in their sensitivity over colonialism they were unwilling to express in the political terms we asked. It is rather surprising that a nation with a record of generosity unparalleled in history should be slow to recognize that giving and receiving involves a rather tricky psychology.

In any event, we are now at least beginning to realize that in some situations assistance through multilateral channels has advantages over that handled bilaterally. We have strongly supported the United Nations Special Fund, which is now pouring millions of dollars of what Paul Hoffman calls "pre-investment capital" into underdeveloped areas. On September 22, 1960, in his address to the United Nations President Eisenhower proposed as the fifth point in his program for Africa "an all-out United Nations effort to help African countries launch such educational activities as they may wish to undertake." Then he went on to say, "The United States is ready to contribute to an expanded program of educational assistance to Africa by the family of United Nations organizations, carried out as the Secretary General may deem appropriate and according to the ideas of the African nations themselves."

This proposal represented a major shift in United States policy, a recognition of the utility of multilateral aid as an alternate to our extensive bilateral programs through such agencies as the ICA. It recognized that the important thing is to get the job done, not to gain a rather dubious reputation for generosity. It was, furthermore, recognition that in a situation like that in Africa there are positive dangers in competition between East and West through bilateral channels. And it of course placed a task squarely before UNESCO.

What is UNESCO? It is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. Naming the specialized agencies of the UN is a bit like naming the Presidents of the United States; you always forget at least one. Just to refresh our memories I have written them down here:

Food and Agriculture Organization
 International Bank for Reconstruction
 and Development
 International Civil Aviation
 Organization
 International Finance Corporation
 International Labor Organization
 Intergovernmental Maritime Consulta-
 tive Organization
 International Monetary Fund
 International Telecommunication Union
 United Nations Educational, Scientific
 and Cultural Organization
 Universal Postal Union
 World Health Organization
 World Meteorological Organization

I suspect that few of us here could have named all of them without my list. This is not surprising, for they lack the drama of the great debates in which Ambassador Stevenson participates. They are less important than the United Nations Organization itself, for without those debates--or without the hard

diplomacy of which the debates are merely the surface manifestation--the opportunity to achieve some of the things for which the Specialized Agencies strive could disappear in political chaos. But they do have an importance of their own.

For those agencies are merely mechanisms for getting certain specialized jobs done, jobs which by their nature require collaboration among the nations of the world. The names indicate their functions in general: Food and Agriculture Organization, International Labor Organization, World Health Organization, and so on.

All these specialized agencies of the United Nations are expected to coordinate their activities with those of the UN, make reports to it, and to carry out special assignments in their own fields from time to time; they are relatively autonomous bodies, with their own governing bodies, their own budgets, their own programs. UNESCO is thus a voluntary association of independent countries, banded together to carry out various activities in the fields of education, science and culture. Why form an association or club to do these things? For the same reasons, I suppose, that any club is formed: to promote communication and understanding among the members of the club and to get some things done which the individual members of the club could not do independently.

UNESCO then is a club organized to advance education, science and culture. The members of this club are at the moment 113 sovereign nations, each of them having a single vote in determining the policies and activities of the club. A secretariat of some 3,000 persons, the employees of the club, located at the headquarters in Paris and scattered on missions around the world, carries on those activities of the organization which the individual members do not voluntarily undertake. For the support of the secretariat and other activities these members pay dues on a sliding scale determined on the basis of

such factors as population and national income. The share of the United States is the largest, about one third of the total. Every two years the members meet, represented by a delegation from each country, to decide upon the program and budget for the next two years. Between meetings an executive board advises the secretariat.

Several years ago a dozen or so families in my community decided that they wanted a place to swim. No one of us wanted to spend the money to build a private pool; so we pooled our resources literally and built a swimming pool. Each of us takes a turn for a week during the summer cleaning the pool and keeping everything in order. A half mile down the street there is a similar club, but this one is larger, and the members can afford to hire a life-guard and enough of a staff to instruct children and carry out a program of sorts. The parallel with UNESCO is rough but accurate enough. We have simply found that we can do some things together which we could not have done otherwise and do them more cheaply. Like any club, our swimming club, or UNESCO, must be appraised on the basis of whether its purposes are worth while and whether it makes any progress in achieving its purposes.

The broad purposes of UNESCO are spelled out.

Just what are the objectives of UNESCO? Here is the preamble to its constitution:

The Governments of the States Parties to
this Constitution on behalf of their
peoples declare:

That since wars begin in the minds of men,
it is in the minds of men that the defences
of peace must be constructed;

That ignorance of each other's ways and
lives has been a common cause, through-
out the history of mankind, of that sus-
picion and mistrust between the peoples
of the world through which their differ-
ences have all too often broken into war;

That the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races;

That the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

For these reasons, the States Parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives;

In consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common

welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims.

The founders of the organization in 1945 had a noble vision of what could be accomplished by an international and intergovernmental organization working in the fields of education, science and culture, a vision expressed eloquently in the constitution. I suggest however that the friends of UNESCO have perhaps too often stopped reading the constitution after the magnificent preamble. We have too often conceived of UNESCO as a publicity agent for peace, which needs no publicity. We have not yet read into Article I, where the founders move on into a statement of what the organization will do to realize its purposes:

Article I. Purposes and Functions

1. The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations.
2. To realize this purpose the Organization will:
 - (a) Collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image;

- (b) Give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture;
 - by collaborating with Members, at their request, in the development of educational activities;
 - by instituting collaboration among the nations to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity without regard to race, sex or any distinctions, economic or social;
 - by suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom;
 - (c) Maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge;
 - by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions;
 - by encouraging cooperation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of persons active in the fields of education, science and culture and the exchange of publications, objects of artistic and scientific interest and other materials of information;
 - by initiating methods of international cooperation calculated to give the people of all countries access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them.
3. With a view to preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the States members of this Organization, the

Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction.

UNESCO's activities fall into two basic patterns. The organization tries in a variety of ways (1) to promote and facilitate communication and collaboration among the peoples of the world in educational, scientific, and cultural matters and (2) to assist the less developed countries in these same fields.

Look at a few examples in the first area. Copyright laws are important in the spread of ideas. Without them the rights of the creator and the publisher are lost and the whole system under which the printed word is distributed breaks down. This is an area in which the United States, which exported \$94 billion worth of books and related materials in 1961, has an interest. Now each country could obviously work out a separate, bilateral treaty with each other country without the assistance of any international organization, but there is clearly a better way. Through the agency of UNESCO a single agreement, the Universal Copyright Convention was worked out. Most of the major countries of the world have signed this agreement; unfortunately the USSR is not yet among them.

Another UNESCO sponsored international agreement, the Florence Convention, will stimulate the flow of educational materials and scientific instruments for teaching by eliminating tariffs on them. Again most of the major countries have ratified the agreement.

In the second area, that of assistance, there seem to be a number of situations in which aid can be given more effectively in concert with other nations, multilaterally, than it can be bilaterally, through agreements between the United States and a single receiving nation.

The Eisenhower Administration decided to handle the difficult Congo situation multilaterally rather than bilaterally for complex reasons. It is, however, sufficient for my purposes and I think sufficiently accurate to say that in order to prevent a potentially dangerous conflict for influence in the heart of Africa from developing, the United States decided to intervene in the Congo only in collaboration with other nations as a member of the United Nations. As you will remember, upon invitation from the government of the Congo the United Nations undertook a wide variety of measures to assist that unhappy country. Within the framework of United Nations' civilian operations UNESCO has attempted to do what it can to get an effective school system going in the newly independent country. It recruited fifty secondary school teachers and nineteen educational advisors from eleven different countries and sent them to the Congo. Plans have been approved for sending sixteen more advisors to help the Central and Provincial governments in the administration and planning of education throughout the country. UNESCO will help to create and staff a technical teacher training school, to recruit more teachers from overseas, to set up mobile teaching units to tour the provinces and train existing Congolese primary teachers in the bush centers. A complete reform of the secondary school curriculum has been worked out by a commission of representatives of the government and of Catholic and Protestant education as well as UNESCO experts. With funds made available from the United Nations text books and school equipment have been provided in large quantities.

These are merely a few examples of what has been done in the field of education, a rather remarkable achievement considering the political unrest of the area. My point here is merely that in this situation the cooperative action of a number of countries through the United Nations has accomplished things which no single nation could have accomplished.

Now admittedly the Congo is a special situation, but some of the same attitudes prevail in most of the newly independent countries. They are all vastly excited about education. They see it not only as a mark of culture and prestige but as an absolute essential in providing the trained manpower needed to develop workable economic systems for their countries. Yet education with them as with us is always a sensitive matter. We would be reluctant to have a single nation, no matter how friendly, become involved in our school system. Some of them feel the same way. Yet an international organization, of which they are members, each with the single vote which the United States, the Soviet Union, and the powerful nations have, can be permitted to give assistance without fear of the growth of a new imperialism.

Furthermore, there seems to be a positive value, and often a financial saving, in attacking some educational problems on a regional basis through collaboration among nations. There seems to be general agreement that the conference on the development of education in Africa, held at Addis Ababa in May of 1961, was remarkably effective in projecting a realistic program for the improvement of education. This conference was planned and conducted by UNESCO as a part of its long-range African program, a program, incidentally, which was in considerable part the handiwork of the United States delegation to the 1960 General Conference of UNESCO. It brought together representatives of thirty-nine participating states and territories, including twenty-three ministers of education, and exposed them to the kind of thinking being done by experts from other parts of the world. (One of the most effective of these experts, incidentally, was Professor Frederick Harbison of Princeton.) As a result of this conference and UNESCO's program in African education a UNESCO regional textbook production center will be in operation this year in Cameroons, printing teaching material for use in neighboring French-speaking countries. In the Sudan the UNESCO School Construction Bureau for Africa is helping design school buildings for the

region, making use of available and low-priced local materials. In Gabon a UNESCO Center for Education has been opened to provide technical advice in the planning of school systems. It is doubtful that many of these things could have been accomplished in the present situation by a single outside nation acting alone, even if it could afford to bear the full cost.

There is of course a place for bilateral aid, and in the total program of United States assistance to developing nations a majority of our help should still be given probably through bilateral agreements. On the other hand, there is a real place for multilateral programs conducted through the United Nations and its specialized agencies. What I have just been citing is a series of examples of a successful accomplishment through the United Nations and its agencies of specific objectives which are in the interests of the United States.

There are sentimental reasons for supporting UNESCO, but there are also hard, practical reasons. As Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, said recently:

These organizations are carrying out American aims beyond the reach of American power, that they are no more and no less than a most efficient means for exercising American purpose. It is true that the purpose happens to be the betterment of the human condition which yet retains a certain popularity, but the achievement of this purpose is no more safe or certain for all its ethical content. It requires the same care and hard bargaining as the most exacting business transaction. And it is no less profitable.

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If there are fewer people today who regard the United Nations system with the sentimentality that one might lavish on his favorite charity, there are also fewer

people who see in every act of the organization the hand of a dark conspiracy directed at themselves. Americans instead are beginning to accept the United Nations system as a vital working part of international diplomacy--one which deserves to be taken seriously and to be regarded with professional care.

Perhaps we have been persuading ourselves that our contributions to UNESCO and half a hundred other multilateral agencies are made in an annual fit of generosity. They are not. Nobody in the world thinks we're generous, so let us not kid ourselves about the matter. We pay our dues to these many international clubs because we find them useful to the foreign policy of the United States. We want malaria eradicated, we want refugees cared for, we want children educated, we want a world weather watch, we want a system of allocating radio frequencies, we want food transferred in an orderly way from where it is abundant to where it is scarce. Above all, we want to make the free world hum with prosperity and development, secure against aggression and growing in freedom for the individual.

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Very quietly and almost without calculation, the free world is devising the rudimentary machinery for its material salvation. Even with allowance made for the familiar boycotts and abstentions of the communist regimes, the members of the United Nations are now engaged in a staggering variety of efforts.

We are trying, through international organizations, to do these things:

To eliminate war through collective security agreements, sophisticated peace-making and peacekeeping machinery, procedures for peaceful change and eventual progress in arms control;

To curtail disease and hunger at an unprecedented rate through an international offensive against their causes;

To apply the benefits of science and technology through cooperation in such matters as transport, communications, and meteorology and the exchange of knowledge through technical assistance programs and private agreements on patents and knowhow;

To achieve an international commercial, fiscal, and monetary system--stable enough and flexible enough to accommodate all nations who wish to take part;

To transfer enough private and public capital to provide developing economies with the marginal resources required for eventual selfsustaining growth; and

To help traditional societies evolve into national societies that understand the usefulness of international cooperation.

William S. Dix, Librarian
Princeton University

(This lecture was given at a meeting of the Friends of the Fondren Library, 20 February 1963, as a part of Rice's semi-centennial celebration. Dr. Dix, formerly Librarian of The Rice Institute, was a Member of the United States Delegation to United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Conferences in Paris and Manila.)

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